chain, Ie, Ikeya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the central area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry, was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were inhabited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second daughter became the first priestess (noro).

The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Hunchan in the north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura, or townships. "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- Analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

361 195 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokasu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

195 349 631

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

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Hanashiro	5
Hinatogawa	9
Hatsuda	16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

128

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership.

631

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township.

632

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village.

632
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[666]
[577]

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (jōyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai).

632

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration.

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

621
631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread [131] over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent [217] who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those 191 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa. 175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri; 632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101